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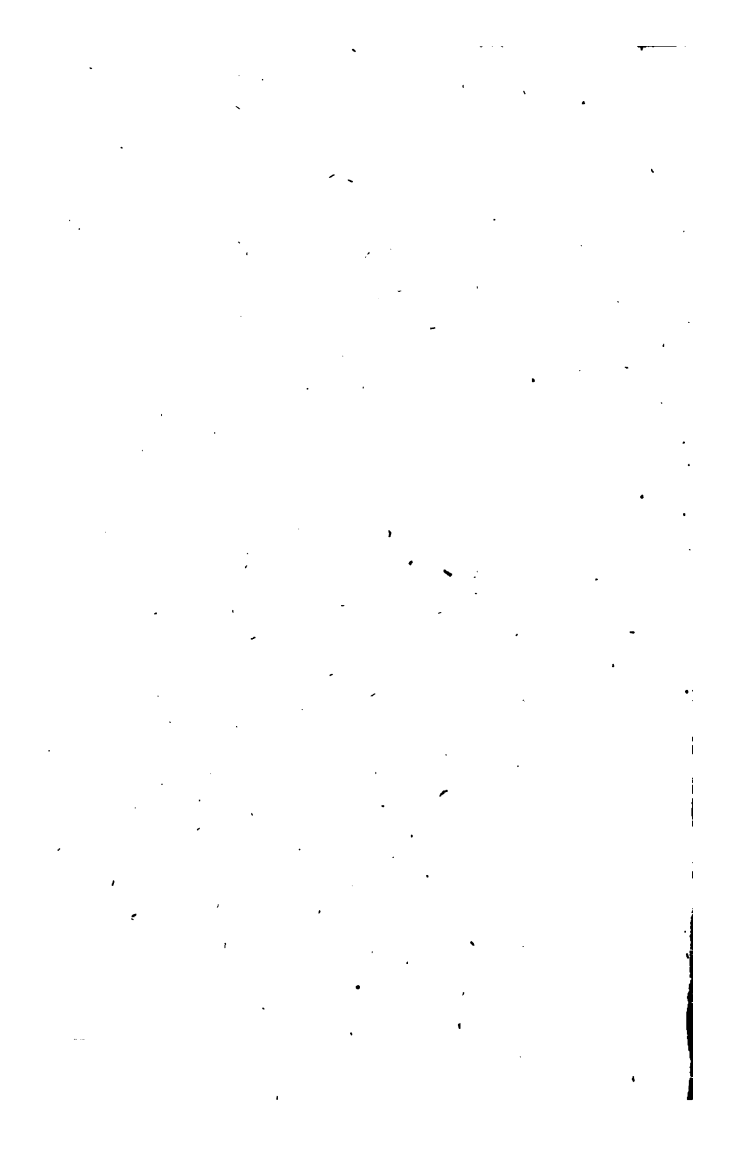
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A

BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

ISLAND OF HAYTI,

BY THE AUTHOR OF
*Conversations on the Sandwich Islands, Bombay, Ceylon, and
Indian Missions.*

[*L.*] *S.*]

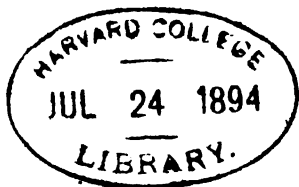
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*L. S. A. Green,
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PREFACE.

My Dear George,—I have often thought of the questions you proposed to me, while at your house, and feel almost ashamed of the confused answers I made, when you inquired about the colored emigrants to Hayti. At that time I knew very little concerning the origin of that emigration; but since I returned home, I have read all the books I could find that treated upon that subject, and whatever has come in my way, connected with the history of the island to which they emigrated.

While thus employed, I felt so deeply interested, and so anxious you and other Sabbath school scholars should take a lively interest in the

colored people, who flocked there from the United States in 1825, that I have written a brief history of Hayti, which I send you with this letter. In it, you will learn the origin of the emigration, and I am confident your tenderest sympathy will be excited for that suffering people, and your heart will bleed when you read of the cruelties and oppressions, practised upon the unsuspecting natives, by their treacherous invaders, ever since the discovery of the island by Christopher Columbus.

While writing this little book, I have almost involuntarily exclaimed, 'Why have not the Christians in the United States established a permanent mission upon that interesting island; why have those emigrants so long been left like sheep upon the mountains without a shepherd?'

Will you not pity the poor Haytiens, when you read of the destruction of human life, by wars and massacres? And will you not consider that if those islanders enjoyed the same opportunities which we enjoy, for becoming

acquainted with the one living and true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, their condition for time, and their prospects for eternity, would be altogether changed ?

But deplorable as the present state of society is at Hayti, it is not a hopeless field of labor. Were its numerous inhabitants to embrace the religion of Christ, and to adopt the entire plan of our federal government, I can scarcely conceive of a spot upon the globe more lovely ; variegated as it is with mountains, plains, and gentle declivities.

Do you ask, my dear George, ' Why may not the Christian religion prevail ? why may not all the benevolent institutions established in this country rise up in Hayti ? ' They certainly may, if the churches will send them Bibles, missionaries, teachers, tracts, and school books. Could the kingdom of Jesus, the Prince of Peace, be extended over that people, exterminating wars would cease, multitudes of the inhabitants would become holy, and order, industry, virtue and re-

ligion, would so far prevail, as to render that island one of the most delightful abodes of civilized man.

What will you, and your little sister Ellen do, to make the poor afflicted Haytiens happy, in this world, and save the present and future generations from dying ignorant of the true gospel of God our Saviour; and what will you and all the other boys and girls in the United States, beg your friends to do for them? Scholars in the Sabbath schools will have much to do in fitting out a mission, if men of wisdom and piety should think proper to make the effort. You already know that much of Asia, nearly all Africa, South America, and multitudes of islands in the seas, are yet groping their way down to the grave, without any saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. But we must meet every one of them at the judgment seat of Christ, and render an account of our stewardship. We shall none of us feel, when we meet our Judge, that we have done too much to save the souls of our fellow men,

however great the sacrifices of time, money, and influence we may have made.

My dear cousin, if you look forward to the last day, and think of an assembled world waiting to hear their final doom, till you have a realizing sense of the awful scene, this world with all its glories will fade from your view, and it will have no value in your eyes unconnected with eternity.

That the reading of this little book may lead you to greater diligence in acquiring something to send the gospel to the destitute, and fill your heart with devout gratitude to God for giving you birth and education under a free government, in the midst of all the blessings of Christianity and civilization, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate cousin,

S. L.



HISTORY OF HAYTI.

CHAPTER I.

THIS beautiful island is three hundred miles long from east to west, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty miles in width. It is known by the name of Hispaniola, St. Domingo, and Hayti. The soil is extremely fertile, and produces abundant crops of cotton, coffee, sugar, and indigo. It was first discovered by Christopher Columbus, in December, 1492. At that time, it was divided into five kingdoms; all their kings, who were called *caziques*, lived in harmony, and the whole island was in peace. Columbus found the men mostly destitute of clothing, but they discovered great fondness for painting, and almost all the natives had their bodies painted like other barbarous people. Being naturally amiable, their friendship was easily won by kindness, and the appearance and presents of the strangers led the artless and simple natives to revere them as they would have done su-

pernatural beings. In return for the trifling presents of the Spaniards, the caziques gave Columbus many articles of their most curious workmanship. The people exchanged lumps of gold, which had been washed down from the mountains, and found in the rivers, for beads, knives, and other things, being entirely ignorant of the value of gold to their visitors, or of the designing arts of the avaricious Spaniards. With the help of the natives, Columbus built a fort, which was to secure to him the mastery in case he met with opposition. He did not remain upon the island more than a month, during which time, he explored as much of it as possible, before he sailed for Spain, leaving about forty of his men to form a settlement.

When he arrived at court, and exhibited the specimens of gold, cotton, &c. of the newly discovered island, he was received with acclamations of joy, and within six months fitted out with a fleet of seventeen sail, under the sanction of the Pope. Fifteen hundred persons accompanied the great discoverer in his second visit, most of whom were gentlemen of wealth, and many of them of distinguished rank, with soldiers, artificers, and missionaries of the Romish faith in plenty. He carried out various domestic animals,

plants, seeds, and instruments for working the rich mines of gold that had allured so many of the Spanish nobility to engage in the enterprize. A year had hardly elapsed from the first landing of Columbus at Hayti, before he returned with his fleet in full expectation of finding a flourishing settlement to receive him. But where he hoped to have found peace and prosperity, there was nothing but devastation and ruin. The garrison had revolted from the officer left in command, and indulged in the most shameful excesses, which so exasperated the cazique in whose kingdom they were stationed, that he had utterly destroyed every vestige of the settlement.

Columbus was too wise to retaliate, and he immediately selected a site for a large city on a vast plain, near a convenient bay, and gave it the name of *Isabella*, in honor of the queen, his patroness. Here he built another fort, and began to lay a broad foundation for a beautiful city; and having established a regular system of government in the colony he had established, he once more set sail, thirsting to make still greater discoveries. After a few months absence, he returned to witness scenes more distressing than had been presented at his second visit. Similar excesses had been committed by the colonists who came out in

the second voyage, and the natives had retaliated, and compelled Columbus to take up arms against his numerous assailants. A dreadful battle was fought in the plain of *Vegal Real*. Two hundred foot, twenty horse, and a few dogs composed the Spanish forces, while the army of the natives contained one hundred thousand ; but owing to the superiority of European discipline, the Spanish obtained an easy victory, and took a multitude of prisoners, who were all condemned to work in the mines, excepting about three hundred, who were sent to Spain as slaves. To the honor of the Castilian queen, it is recorded, that she restored them to their country, proclaimed their liberty, and commanded her subjects in Hayti to conciliate the natives, and if possible, win them over to the Christian religion ; and instead of subjugating them by force, to persuade them to submit to her crown. But her kind and gentle orders came too late. The subjection of the whole island followed the victory of Columbus, who levied an enormous tax upon every male above fourteen years of age, to be paid quarterly, in gold or cotton.

The natives, stung with madness under this oppression, attempted to starve the Spaniards, by destroying every kind of vegetation, which

they no sooner finished, than they fled to the mountains, which were nearly inaccessible to Europeans. This measure well nigh proved their own destruction; for they were pursued by dogs trained up for the purpose, and massacred by the ferocious Spaniards, till a third part of their number perished. It is supposed that the island contained a million of inhabitants when it was first discovered. The envious foes of Columbus had so misrepresented his conduct to the court of Spain, that immediately after his victory on the plain of Vegal Real, he was obliged to return to Spain, to answer the accusations brought against him. Bovardillo, the new governor, was successful in bringing all the relatives and personal friends who had followed Columbus, into deep disgrace, and labored with unwearied diligence to enslave all the natives he could get into his possession, and then consigned them to his Spanish adherents.

At length, fearing the utter extinction of the native inhabitants under his cruel sway, the court of Isabella sent out another knight, named Ovando, with thirty-two ships, and two thousand five hundred settlers, to supersede Bovardillo.

During Ovando's administration, one insurrection followed another in quick succession,

and multitudes were slain. The natives became desperate under the rapid accumulation of wrongs and outrage, heaped on them by their proud oppressors, and the hearts of all were filled with horror and hatred towards the cruel invaders. Almost every cazique had perished from the island. One princess, however, Spanish policy had allowed to remain in her district unmolested. She had expressed uncommon friendship for them until their barbarities had converted her former affectionate regards into the most bitter hatred. The altered state of her affections were reported to Ovando, who instantly suspected she was meditating an open rebellion. He therefore proposed to make a journey into her district, under pretence of receiving the tribute due from her province to the Castilian crown; he set out from his capital with three hundred foot, and seventy horse. The Princess, from what motives can never be known, welcomed his approach with every expression of joy and satisfaction. She, with her court and a large retinue, went out to meet him with shouts and dancing, and conducted him to her palace, where a feast had been prepared with unusual magnificence. The jealous Spaniard suspected that under this fair show of friendship, the spirit of rebellion was disguised, and he

resorted to a stratagem to crush the insurrection in the bud, which was in perfect keeping with all his black and fiend-like policy. He lavished upon herself and her court, the most extravagant praise, and invited her, and all her courtiers and friends, to a feast which he promised should be prepared, and conducted after the customs of Spain. She complied with his request, and he had the diabolical pleasure of collecting her whole court in one fatal spot, where, in the midst of the entertainment, the Spanish forces appeared in battle array, with Ovando at their head, who gave the appointed signal, when the vast multitudes who had followed in the queen's train were put to the sword, and she with her courtiers made prisoners. Her noblemen were tied to stakes near the temporary buildings, erected to accommodate the guests during the celebration of the feast, and were consumed in the flames communicated to the buildings for that purpose. After witnessing the destruction of nearly all her people, the princess was hanged upon a tree. A few of her subjects fled for their lives, and escaped the general carnage.

Six years after the infamous Ovando was made governor of Hayti, the seizure and execution of the cazique Co-tu-ba-na-ma put an end to the race of the Haytien kings.

The death of Isabella followed, and the islanders' cup of affliction was full. The million of inhabitants which the island contained when first discovered, were reduced, in fifteen years from that event, to sixty thousand!

This fact would cease to be surprising, if we could form an idea of the hardships and cruel usage inflicted upon them by the iron hand of oppression. They were chained together, and bound to the performance of tasks unequal to the strength of their untrained constitutions. Life became a burden, and multitudes fell upon their own weapons, threw themselves from the precipices, and by other acts of suicide, escaped out of the reach of their tyrants.

CHAPTER II.

THE government of Spain, alarmed at the rapid decrease of native population, devised various plans to re-people the island. The one finally adopted, was in perfect accordance with the principles by which they appeared to have been governed from the first. It was to rob the neighboring islands of their inhabitants, all the while pretending to the superstitious natives, that when they arrived at St. Domingo, they would meet all their ancestors, and with them enjoy superior bliss in that happy region. In this way, more than forty thousand persons were seduced into hopeless slavery to the dark and bloody Spaniards, professing the faith of Rome. Diego Columbus, a son of the first discoverer, obtained the government of Hayti in 1509, but he was not a foe to oppression, or indifferent to the attractions of gold. The Haytiens said, "We must not expect any happiness so long as the god of the Spaniards, (meaning gold,) re-

mains among us. He is no less our enemy than they. They seek for him in every place ; and where they find him, *there* they establish themselves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would discover him. Were we to swallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels and drag him out. There is no place, but the bottom of the sea, that can elude their search. When he is no longer among us, doubtless we shall be forgotten by them." These and similar remarks led many to throw into the sea all the gold in their possession. The patriotic man who made these remarks was pursued by Spaniards, overtaken in the mountains, and burnt at the stake as a vile rebel. In those days of gloom and sorrow, when hope itself seemed ready to expire, Las Casas, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who accompanied Columbus to Hayti in his second voyage, had always cherished feelings of sympathy and kindness towards the injured natives, and urged the governors again and again, to redress their wrongs ; but finding it altogether in vain, he went to Europe, and plead their cause before Charles V. and Cardinal Ximenes, so powerfully, that they appointed five superintendents of the colonies, Las Casas being one of them. Upon their arrival at Hayti in 1517, they im-

mediately liberated the natives who had been enslaved and consigned to the Spanish courtiers and others.

Still anxious to extend the blessings of liberty to all the natives, he traversed one kingdom after another, everywhere endeavoring to soften the rigor of their fate, by exciting sympathy and compassion in the breasts of proud tyrants, till wearied with repeated failures of accomplishing his benevolent object, he at last made a vigorous effort to establish a colony of his own, where he could make such regulations as would almost certainly secure the greatest amount of human happiness. For this purpose, he purchased Cumana in South America, a territory sufficient to accommodate a large number of colonists, and then visited every province of Castile, to procure men who had been accustomed to labor in the field, and in manufactories, with whose help he hoped to civilize the natives, and bring them into a state of liberty and happiness. But after experiencing many disappointments, he obtained only two hundred men, and with them he sailed for South America, in 1519, where he found that his insatiable countrymen had come to obtain slaves to replenish the depopulated islands, under the dominion of Spain. This cruelty had

roused up the fierce anger of the savages, who massacred every Spaniard who came within their reach. Although Cumana was the province which the good Las Casas had procured for his colony, yet he found no place of rest for himself or his companions, many of whom fell victims to intemperance, to the climate, and to the darts of those whom their leader came to benefit. The residue were obliged to seek an asylum elsewhere.

In 1600, the native inhabitants of Hayti were almost entirely exterminated, and the whole island became the property of Spain. England and France had both longed to get possession of some of the West India islands, and at length in 1630, they made a settlement on the island of St. Christopher. But the Spaniards, fired with jealousy, drove them away, and they escaped to *Tortuga*, a small island northwest of Hayti. In this quiet retreat, with their wives and children, they procured subsistence by cultivating the soil and hunting, till the Spaniards discovered their hiding place, and after watching a long time for the absence of the men, an opportunity offered, and with fiend-like cruelty, they fell upon the defenceless women and children, and massacred every one of them. The men, driven to desperation by the sight of their

murdered wives and infants, vowed eternal hatred to the Spanish name, and forming themselves into little bands, retired to the rocks and strong holds of Tortuga, from whence they occasionally sallied forth, spreading desolation in their path through the Spanish settlements, and then flew back to their residence in the remote caves and rocks which could not be discovered. For fifty years, the Spaniards were harrassed by them continually in their settlements and commerce. These *Buccaniers*, as they were called, received accessions from France, until they amounted to four hundred, when they made a descent upon the northern coast of Hayti, and after a short struggle, obtained possession. The French government were not long idle spectators of this; they sent out a gentleman from Anjou to take charge of this promising colony. Through his wise management, in four years the four hundred regular planters were increased to fifteen hundred. The Spaniards who still retained possession of the eastern part of the island, considered them as powerful and dangerous rivals, and for many years there were continual hostilities between them.

At last, in 1697, the French obtained a regular cession of the western part of the

island, and from that time to the revolution in France, the colony enjoyed almost uninterrupted prosperity. / At the commencement of the revolution in France, the whole French colony contained five hundred and thirty-four thousand, eight hundred and thirty-one souls. Of this number, thirty thousand, eight hundred and thirty-one were white persons, twenty-four thousand were mulattoes, and the rest negro slaves. At that time, their exports of sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, and indigo, amounted to more than five millions of pounds sterling. The colony was divided into fifty-two parishes, and all the officers of the colonial government, were appointed by the crown of France. Men of color were not allowed to hold any public office whatever, neither could they sustain the office of a priest, school-master, apothecary, or lawyer, and the distinction of color continued even beyond the third generation, which is not the case in those islands where the English bear sway.

When the revolution in France broke out, a large number of mulattoes from Hayti were in Paris, acquiring an education, and a few of the mulatto residents were men of intelligence and wealth. A Society was formed in Paris, entitled the "Friends of the Blacks," and the celebrated Lafayette was one of the

most prominent members. This Society formed a very intimate connection with the colored residents, and with them called loudly for the immediate abolition of the slave trade, and of slavery itself, which the French government had supported. The Society of "*Friends of the Blacks*," by their zealous protests against oppression in every form, were the topic of conversation in every circle. All ranks of people began to sympathize with the people of color, and the clamor against the white colonists in the West India islands became general, and some boldly threatened their total annihilation. After the National Assembly made their *declaration of rights*, and pronounced "all men born free and equal," the tidings flew to Hayti, and produced great commotion among the whole population. A *General Assembly* was called in April, 1790, and almost every parish sent two deputies. A new constitution was framed, but it did not meet with general satisfaction. It rather encouraged insubordination, and strong jealousies existed in the minds of many, that there was a secret determination in the colony to declare itself an independent state, after the example of the American provinces. The Governor was alarmed, and declared the

members of the assembly traitors to their king and country, and threatened to inflict severe punishments. A most distressing scene of contention followed between the governor and his party, and the assembly and its advocates. A civil war commenced, which was at last checked by the resolution of the assembly to go to Paris, and present themselves in person before the national assembly; and they actually embarked for France, surrounded by weeping friends. They were the admiration of the whole nation, upon this interesting occasion. After they sailed, the governor attempted to administer the government as usual, but he betrayed much fear and apprehension.

Immediately after the departure of the members of the colonial assembly, a most alarming rebellion of a new character broke out, under the direction of James Oge, a mulatto of about thirty, who had been educated in Paris, at the expense of his mother, whose coffee plantation in the northern province, enabled her to support him in a handsome style, after he became a man. He had been much noticed in Paris, by the "Friends of the Blacks' Society," and by them "initiated into the popular doctrine of equality

and the rights of men." Believing that the whole colored population of his native island were prepared to rise up and crush their tyrannical oppressors, and receiving much encouragement from the Society of "Friends of the Blacks," he proceeded to Hayti, and secretly landed in October, 1790. He addressed a letter to the governor, filled with reproaches for neglecting to execute the edict of Louis XIV. in favor of the slaves, and declaring himself the protector of the mulattoes, and that he would speedily resort to arms, unless their wrongs were redressed. His brothers, and a few others of kindred spirit, had been very busy in exciting a spirit of rebellion, but they were not as successful as he had anticipated. When Oge lifted up his standard, he found only about two hundred ready to follow and support him, and they were men untrained in the art of war, and totally averse to discipline. He established his camp about fifteen miles from Cape Francois. The governor adopted prompt measures to reduce the rebels; their camp was invested by a body of troops; many of them were killed, sixty were taken prisoners, and the rest fled. Oge, his brother, and one of his lieutenants, sought a refuge among the Spaniards, who gave them up to the authorities

of the French part of the island. After long and repeated examinations, about twenty of them were condemned to be hanged, while Oge, and one of his lieutenants were broken on the wheel.

CHAPTER III.

THE members of the colonial assembly who sailed for France, arrived at Brest in September, 1790, and were received with every token of respect; but before their arrival at Paris, the president of the committee for the colonies had been so effectually prejudiced against them and their cause, that they were treated with indignity, by the national assembly, refused a hearing, and after waiting in painful suspense several weeks, *the committee* declared, "that all the pretended decrees and acts of the colonial assembly should be reversed, and pronounced null and of no effect."

They also praised the conduct of the governor, and declared the eighty-five members of the colonial assembly under arrest, until the national assembly should have leisure to signify its further intentions concerning them. When these tidings reached Hayti, a general burst of indignation followed; they believed the base treatment of their deputies, was the

consequence of a total absence of every principle of honor and justice ; and many of the parishes absolutely refused to choose others, till the fate of those whom they still considered *legal representatives* should be decided.

A national decree had been passed, consisting of eighteen articles, and among them, the following—"that every person of the age of twenty-five and upwards, possessing property, or having resided two years in the colony, and paid taxes, should be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial assembly."

The directions of this decree had been followed in every particular, by the people of Hayti, and their members had received the most indignant treatment, and all the parishes felt themselves sharers in their disgrace.

The Abbe Gregoire (who with Lafayette, Brissot and Robespierre, were the leading members of the Society of the "*Friends of the Blacks*,") took up the subject, and plead the claim of the free mullattoes to the full benefit of the national *decree*, which I have quoted, and he also claimed for them all the rights and privileges of white citizens. The fate of Oge reached Paris about the time the Abbe openly espoused the cause of the blacks, and from the moment Robespierre uttered

the cry—"Perish the colonies, rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles," the people reiterated the sentiment, until in May, 1791, a decree was enacted which gave to free blacks in Hayti all the rights and privileges of French citizens, and made them "eligible to seats both in the colonial, and parochial assemblies." When this *decree* reached the island, the wrath and indignation of the whites were unutterable. They expressed all the indignity they could towards the government of France for making a law so humbling to their pride, and so injurious to their power. They resolved upon taking measures for the election of an assembly, who should frame laws and see them executed, more agreeable to their views of propriety, than those furnished them by France.

At this critical moment, an awful insurrection among the negroes, which had been a long time maturing, broke out in the vicinity of Cape Francois. It commenced a little before daylight, on the twenty-third of August, 1791, in the parish of Acul, upon a plantation called *the Noe*. The principal managers of this plantation, were attacked by nearly a dozen of the ringleaders, and most shockingly butchered. Having finished the work of death there, they went to the house of Mr.

C——, and massacred him and his sugar refiner. All his negroes joined the murderous gang, and they proceeded to the plantations of Mr. G——, and Mr. F——, and acted over the same brutal and savage deeds. Their numbers rapidly increased, for their scheme was deeply laid, and they carried over all the plantations desolation and death. Consternation and dismay everywhere prevailed—the dreadful tidings flew from parish to parish—and the screams of the women and children running this way and that, increased the horror of the dreadful scene. The citizens took up arms, and as speedily as possible, a chain of posts were formed, which, for a short time, seemed to check the insurgents; but presently two of the most formidable were attacked by the negroes, aided by the mulattoes, and a most awful slaughter followed. Women and children were hurried on board of the ships in the harbor, to preserve their lives. Two districts, the great plain of the Cape, and the adjacent mountains, were abandoned to the enemy, and within two months, more than two thousand white people, of all ages and conditions, were massacred by these enraged negroes.

Nearly a thousand indigo, cotton, and coffee settlements were destroyed, and all the build-

ings burnt. As many as twelve hundred families who had lived in affluence, were reduced to such a state of want and misery, that they depended for sustenance upon the hand of charity.

More than ten thousand of the insurgents perished by the sword, famine, and under the hands of the executioner. No sooner had quiet began to succeed the dreadful storm, which it was hoped had passed by in the northern provinces, than upwards of two thousand colored revolvers appeared in the west, who were immediately joined by six hundred negro slaves, all eager to begin the work of death and devastation. Their first exploit, was to set fire to the mountainous coffee plantations bordering upon the plain of Cul-de-sac, and they continued their ravages till the country, for thirty miles, presented one continued scene of ruins. Armed forces went out to stop their dreadful career, but they were repulsed; and the insurgents, elevated by success, pressed on towards Port-au-Prince, determined to destroy it utterly. But some of the mulatto chiefs, finding the slaves not so easily excited to rebellion as they expected, intimated that a treaty might possibly be made by his party and the existing authority. At length, through the interposition of a

very eminent planter, a sort of treaty was formed between the white people, and the free men of color. The whites engaged to admit the national decree, which made all *free and equal*, and the colonial assembly ratified the engagement, granting to the free colored people greater privileges than they had hardly hoped ever to obtain. The spirit of revolt began to subside, and the wrath of the blacks began to give place to more kindly feelings, when the decree, which made all the free colored people "eligible to seats in the colonial and parochial assemblies," was repealed in France. The mulattoes could not be satisfied that the whites were ignorant of the fact in the treaty they had just made; and from the moment authentic information reached Hayti, of its repeal, they declared that there remained no alternative, but extermination to themselves or the whites. The contest assumed the most horrible character; each party taxed all their ingenuity to outdo the other in acts of cruelty, and the manner of executing prisoners was too horrid for description. Port St. Louis was taken by the insurgents, and although they were finally driven from Port-au-Prince, yet it was not effected until more than one third of it was laid in ashes. In France, the Jacobin party daily increased in

numbers, and the Society of "*Friends to the Blacks*" once more gained the ascendancy in the legislature, which passed a decree on the fourth of April, 1792, granting admission to all people of color and free negroes, to the electoral assemblies, and declaring them eligible to all places of honor and trust.

Three commissioners were appointed for Hayti, with authority to dissolve the colonial assemblies, and to adopt measures to convene primary and electoral assemblies, and to establish in them "union, order, and peace." They landed at Cape Francois, in September, accompanied by eight thousand men, with officers of known principles, who were to aid in establishing the authority of the commissioners, if necessary. They thought it prudent for a time to disguise the extent of power they had received, and pretended that their only design was to see the decree properly enforced in favor of the free colored people, and to reduce the rebel slaves to obedience. The whites entertained strong suspicions from the moment of their arrival, that their *real design* was to give perfect liberty to the slaves. These suspicions occasioned much fear, and continual alarm, which increased, as it was perceived by the more discerning, that a secret corres-

pondence was carried on between the mulattoes and the commissioners. From the time of the insurrection of the negroes, a multitude of people had left Hayti for other islands, where they hoped to enjoy greater security : and several of the most eminent planters, feeling confident that if Great Britain would send out sufficient forces to bring the island under its subjection, their circumstances would be greatly improved, had actually gone to apply to the king's ministers to make an effort to bring about this plan. It was with much difficulty they obtained a hearing ; and probably nothing would have been done, had not a war broken out between France and England. The king at last gave orders to the governor of Jamaica, to accept of all the people in Hayti who asked for the protection of the English government, giving encouragement that a sufficient force should be fitted out, to keep possession of all the territory which should surrender. The governor sent out rather less than a thousand men, who took possession of various places ; the terms of capitulation having been previously prepared. The inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to the British crown, thankful for protection from the designing commissioners,

who, when they could no longer conceal their plans, openly avowed themselves the *protectors* of the free negroes and mulattoes; and whoever opposed them, were taken prisoners and sent to Europe.

The force already on the island, from France, amounted to several thousand, all inured to the climate, besides the country militia, and when those were added who came over with the commissioners, the French forces constituted almost fifteen thousand effective whites. These were joined by almost all the free negroes and mulattoes upon the island. To this formidable army were added a large number of runaway slaves, and all the negroes who had been released from the jails since the arrival of the commissioners, which increased their forces to about twenty-five thousand men well armed. This army could not be readily embodied, as they were widely dispersed; and when the news of the arrival of an English power, prepared to make an attack, reached the ears of the commissioners, they instantly declared the abolition of slavery in every form, and proclaimed every negro on the island a *free citizen*. Immediately the slaves withdrew from their former masters, and collecting in the mountains to the number of a hun-

dred thousand, took possession of the *strong holds* of all the mountainous parts of the interior. As many as forty thousand of the insurgent negroes still continued in arms in the northern province. The British squadron arrived in May, 1794, and on the 4th of June, the French evacuated Port-au-Prince, and the English took quiet possession. Orders had been given by the commissioners, to set it on fire, in case the British were likely to obtain the victory, but there was only time for them and their adherents to escape to the mountains, where the black population had assembled and formed a kind of republic under two leaders, named *Rigaud* and *Toussaint*, the former a mulatto, the latter a negro. At this critical juncture, the commissioners left the island, and went directly to France, where the government sanctioned all their proceedings.

The British officers found it very important to raise additional intrenchments on that side of Port-au-Prince which faces the mountains, and their men were compelled to labor in the day-time, and do military duty at night. Such fatigue endured at their first landing, in addition to the dews, rains, and scorching rays of the sun in the torrid zone, reduced the

strength, and occasioned the death of multitudes. So great was the mortality, that within two months, more than six hundred men, and forty officers, fell victims to the climate, connected with privations and fatigue. Those who survived were in such a feeble state, that they were only able to act on the defensive, until a reinforcement arrived, which was not till the end of seven months.

The mulatto chief was not idle, but having taken possession of *Leogans*, he put to death all the planters who fell into his hands. The British government despatched a reinforcement of seven thousand men towards the close of 1795, but they had a long and disastrous voyage of six months or more, and when they arrived, they found themselves and their brethren in arms languid and dispirited, and their enemies bold and confident.

The mulattoes carried the war almost to the suburbs of Port-au-Prince, and labored with the greatest activity in raising batteries and building fortifications, unmolested by the British, within four miles of their head quarters. In March, 1797, the French government appointed *Toussaint L' Overture* general-in-chief of all the armies of Hayti; the power of this new office he had long exer-

cised. The English forces found him a powerful opponent, and dreaded to fall into his hands exceedingly. To avoid this, one of their ablest Generals retired from a garrison which he menaced, to Port-au-Prince, and he gained possession of the whole fertile plain of the Cul-de-sac.

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CHAPTER IV.

SOME of the British commanders were compelled to return home on account of ill health, some died, and others remained feeble and incapable of vigorous enterprize, until 1798, when the command fell upon Gen. Maitland, who arrived at Port-au-Prince in April of that year. He was a skillful and brave man, but soon after he took the command, the English government was so occupied with European politics and warfare, that St. Domingo seemed to have partially faded away from their memory, and neglecting to send the necessary reinforcements to aid Gen. Maitland in the reduction of the island, he perceived that the mortifying career of discomfiture and disappointment must be terminated, "by retiring from the scene of so many disasters, with the best grace in his power." Tous-saint agreed to a month's truce, in which time Gen. Maitland stipulated for the security of all the friends of the English, and entered

with him. His history is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. This remarkable man was born in 1745, a *slave* in the northern province of Hayti, on a plantation of the Count de Noe's. In 1770, contrary to the Haytien customs, he selected one wife, whom he treated with peculiar tenderness, and manifested towards her children the strongest affection. His amiable and conciliating temper, his benevolence and patience, made him an object of uncommon interest to the manager of the plantation, who kindly bestowed upon him unusual attention, and taught him to read and write, and assisted him in acquiring some knowledge of arithmetic. So much learning had not been acquired in those days by one in ten thousand of his fellow slaves, and it gained him credit and influence with M. Bayan, the manager, who raised him to the office of postillion; a post of great honor, compared with the condition of a field slave. After his elevation, finding he had the command of much time, he devoted himself to study, with his characteristic perseverance, and made far greater attainments than persons of indolent tempers would suppose practicable.

Some of the negro chiefs, in the insurrection which broke out in 1791, were personal friends of his, and they, with their associates,

expressed a strong desire to obtain his sanction and co-operation ; but his whole nature revolted at their cruelties, and he refused to have any part in the enterprize.

The planters had become objects of abhorrence and vengeance to the slaves, on account of their tyranny and oppression, and when the decree proclaimed liberty to every slave, Tous-saint's master, though comparatively good and gentle, was upon the point of being assassinated by the infuriated populace, when his grateful slave threw himself between his master and his destroyer, and saved his life. He procured for him and his family a passage to North America, and contrived to convey many of his effects on board, and in every way exerted himself to make him comfortable. After his settlement in Maryland, he sent out sugar in sufficient quantities to sustain him for a long time in circumstances of comfort and respectability. For many years he annually sent him fresh tokens of his gratitude and affection. After the safe departure of M. Bayan, he unhesitatingly joined the army, and attached himself to that division commanded by Bi-as-sau, and received an appointment next to him in rank. Notwithstanding the brilliancy of military talent possessed by the superior officer, his savage dis-

position, and atrocious crimes made him an object of hatred and contempt to his troops, who would not be satisfied till he was degraded, and the generous and virtuous Toussaint elevated to the chief command.

The benevolence and humanity which had so long adorned the life of this amiable man, shone brighter and brighter as he became more conspicuous among his military associates, who generally were of very different characters.

It was not long after his acceptance of the supreme command, before he found it necessary to decide publicly in favor of the French, or of the invaders from England, and to unite firmly with one or the other. He decided for France, and proved himself a faithful servant for that government, through all its numerous changes.

He was always treated with respect and courtesy by every public officer who transacted business with him from abroad. In point of ability, he proved himself more than a match for all the commissioners from France, and managed so as to leave them only a nominal authority. At the close of his negotiation with Gen. Maitland, he found himself in quiet, amidst a people whom he loved, and by whom he was loved and revered in a remarkable

degree. Aware that the prosperity of the island depended upon the cultivation of the soil, he used all his influence to turn the attention of the people to that object. The planters could not own a slave, and were obliged to hire all their labor done, according to the laws which specified the amount of compensation all kinds of laborers should receive. In a few months, the face of the country wore a new aspect. Those beautiful hills, which for ten years had been desolated by the ravages of war, were clothed in verdure and beauty.

CHAPTER V,

TOUSSAINT made preparation for visiting every part of the island, immediately after it was evacuated by the British, and everywhere met with similar expressions of gratitude and delight, as were lavished upon the Marquis La Fayette, in his tour through the United States, by the American citizens.

“His uniform was a blue jacket, with a broad red cape, red cuffs, with several rows of lace on the arms, and a large gold epaulette on each shoulder; scarlet waistcoat and pantaloons, with half boots; round hat, with a national cockade, and a red feather; to which was added a sword of the largest size.” In this tour he had an opportunity to discover and remedy many defects in the municipal governments. By degrees the official intercourse between France and Hayti almost ceased, and Toussaint, aided by Pascal, a descendant of the famous Blaise Pascal, and several other distinguished Europeans, framed

a constitution, which was adopted by an assembly chosen from every district, and on the first July, 1801, Hayti was declared to be an independent State.

Under the wise administration of Toussaint, every part of the island was rapidly improving, and the inhabitants enjoyed a greater degree of happiness than for a long succession of years. But when the war between France and England ceased, and the navy of the former was again free to traverse the ocean at pleasure, Bonaparte, at the head of the nation, assumed the modest title of First Consul. But thirsting for universal conquest, he cast his eye to St. Domingo, and determined to send a fleet against that long afflicted island. The Consul's first object was, if possible, to bring Toussaint over to his views, hoping by various arts to make him a co-worker with himself in his deep laid plot; and the more effectually to secure his object, he put the two sons of Toussaint on board the fleet, who had been sent to France to be educated. These lads were to be kept as hostages in case their father could not be won over to the interests of Bonaparte. The flower of the French soldiery was selected for this service, and the projected expedition was kept as secret as possible, till it was ready to sail. It

consisted of twenty-five thousand men, fully equipped, under the command of General Le Clerc, brother-in-law to the First Consul. Jerome Bonaparte, his brother, was another officer, and his sister, Madam Le Clerc, wishing to share in the glory of a splendid triumph, sailed with her husband. This fleet appeared off the coast of St. Domingo, in January, 1802. The fleet was divided, and each division instructed to make an attack upon the place assigned it, as nearly at the same time as possible.

The division, headed by Le Clerc, proceeded to Cape Francois. The inhabitants were ordered to set fire to the town, the moment they ascertained that the French designed to land there; and when Le Clerc hove in sight of the place, behold the flames ascended to the skies, and with all his efforts to extinguish them, only a few dwellings were saved. *Christophe*, who commanded that place, sent a mulatto post captain to inform Le Clerc that Toussaint was absent in the interior, and that he should not suffer any troops to land without his orders so long as he had power to prevent it. However, he effected a landing a few miles west of the town. Bonaparte had addressed a letter to Toussaint, and intrusted it to Coisson, the tutor of his

sons. The lads had been much caressed by the First Consul, and having had their wishes anticipated after they entered the fleet, they sincerely hoped their father would cheerfully accede to the wishes of the French.

Toussaint's residence was in the country, at a place called En-ne-ry, thirty or forty miles from Cape Francois. A messenger was sent to apprise him of the approach of his children, but being absent on important business, another messenger was dispatched to hasten his return. His wife received her sons with all the expressions of a mother's love. Seven years had surprisingly increased their stature, and they were as beautiful and accomplished as her fond heart could wish. The delighted boys ran to meet their father, who received them with open arms, unable to utter a word until his emotions had partially subsided. He then, with a look of complacency, embraced their tutor with feelings of gratitude and respect.

Coisnon took advantage of the *melting mood* in which he found the high minded chief, and in a speech which he had prepared for the occasion, described the glory and honor that awaited him, if he united his fortunes with those of the French Consul, and assuring him that he should be second in command under the great Le Clerc, &c. At the same

time, telling him in plain language, the horrible scenes which would certainly follow his refusal; adding that he would never again behold the faces of his sons, unless he was then ready to submit. He then delivered the letters from Bonaparte and Le Clerc.

The children were importunate in their requests, that their father should yield to the wishes of the First Consul, who they believed tenderly loved them, and revered their father; repeating many proofs of his affectionate regards, with all the glowing eloquence of youth. Their mother added her entreaties to theirs, with many tears. A mighty struggle was passing in the heart of the brave Toussaint in the midst of this tender scene; but after a few moment's reflection, he at once perceived the snare that was laid to entrap him; he calmly requested Coisson to retire with him to an inner apartment, where he said in a firm, dignified tone, "Take back my children, since it must be so. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God." Finding all his attempts unavailing, Coisson endeavored to draw Toussaint into a negotiation with Le Clerc; and to this Toussaint agreed. Unwilling to prolong this painful domestic scene, he refused to write a letter at En-ne-ry, or to see his children after he retired with their

tutor, but hastily mounting his horse, he was on his way to the camp in two hours after he first reached home. A correspondence was commenced between Le Clerc and Toussaint, and a truce agreed upon, which expired without any symptoms of Toussaint's submission, and Le Clerc, impatient of delay, declared Toussaint and Christophe *outlaws*, and gave command to "all citizens to pursue them, and to treat them as enemies of the French republic." From this moment, no art was left untried, which the ingenuity of the French could practice, to alienate the inhabitants from Toussaint, and disaffect his colored troops. Le Clerc's General Roudet had taken Port-au-Prince, and he removed his head quarters to that place, and immediately prosecuted the war with great spirit and success; many strongly fortified places fell into his hands. One yet remained, which had been built by the English at great expense, situated several leagues from the French head quarters. The bold, skillful, and enterprising black General Des-salines, had the command of this fortress, which he retained during a dreadful siege, till his ammunition and provisions were nearly spent; he then sallied forth at night, with one division of his garrison, giving orders for the rest to follow a few nights afterwards. When

the time arrived, only a small part escaped in safety; the rest were taken and put to the sword. By this time Toussaint had been deserted by planters, mulattoes, and negroes, till he could number but a few hundred followers, who were steadfastly minded to follow him till death. Le Clerc became so elevated with his repeated successes, that he now thought the time had fully arrived when he might boldly avow the sole object of his expedition, which was nothing less than the *re-establishment of slavery*; which he boldly proclaimed in about three months after he first landed.

Consternation and dismay now filled every mind and heart; such baseness was almost unparalleled even in the dark history of Hayti. The planters felt afraid to obey the General's orders, notwithstanding they rejoiced in slavery. The negroes, and every class of persons who had joined the invaders, were in unutterable distress. The ever wakeful Toussaint saw at a glance, that this imprudent treachery on the part of Le Clerc, had paved the way for retrieving his affairs.

Almost the whole of the French forces had collected at Port-au-Prince and the neighboring country, leaving the northern province in a defenceless state. He was enabled to join

his own forces with those of his tried friend Christophe, who had preserved about three hundred of his choice men. They hastened towards the north part of the island, where the cultivators were the most numerous. They all flocked to the standard of the faithful Toussaint, with such weapons as they had in their hands, at the moment they heard him call "*to arms !*" with hoes and cutlasses, (an instrument to trim the green fences,) they bade defiance to French power and craft, and pressed on, burning with zeal, and thirsting to take vengeance on the perfidious French. Within a fortnight the troops of Toussaint poured over the plains of the north like a sweeping torrent, forcing all the posts of the enemy, and driving all that escaped slaughter into the fortifications at Port-au-Prince. Le Clerc, distressed and ashamed of his folly, saw no hope of success, unless he could, by some new stratagem, divide the forces of the black generals. He hardly dared hope to succeed in deluding the people again ; but if he failed, his ruin would be completed. He therefore made a new declaration, apologizing for his strange conduct, and offered the people a constitution based upon *liberty and equality*, in which he made several clauses that "rendered the whole a nullity." This proclamation was

dispersed over the whole island with amazing rapidity ; and it met with very general approbation.

The negroes were weary of war, and longed for liberty and peace, both of which they believed the new constitution secured to them, and their posterity, and Toussaint and Christophe found themselves again in danger of total desertion. Christophe saw the French so often reinforced, that his hopes of ultimate success failed. He was the first to capitulate, and the terms upon which he surrendered, secured to himself, Toussaint and Dessalines, the rank they then held, and that of all their officers ; and it was agreed that not a soldier should receive the slightest injury. The pride of Le Clerc found it hard to accept such humbling terms: however, he at last complied. Toussaint and Dessalines, without believing Le Clerc was sincere in his proposals, felt themselves compelled by their circumstances to make the best compromise in their power. In May, a peace was concluded, and Hayti became the property of France.

Toussaint, with his remaining family, (for his two elder sons were never heard of after their return to Cape Francois with their tutor,) retired to the quiet of private life, on a little plantation, where he hoped to find repose and

comfort, after passing through so many turbulent scenes. But the abandoned Le Clerc planned and executed a scheme of treachery, that will cover his name with infamy so long as it is remembered.

In the dead of night, while Toussaint and all his household were wrapped in a deep sleep, unconscious of any danger, his dwelling was assailed—broken open, and himself, wife, children and niece, dragged to the shore, and hurried on board a seventy-four ship, before his neighbors were alarmed, or suspected what had happened. During the voyage, Toussaint was confined to his cabin and guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets, without being allowed to see his family. At Brest, he was permitted to have a short interview with his wife and children. From Brest his family were conveyed to Bayonne, and never heard of more.

Toussaint was put into a close carriage, and escorted to Normandy, and placed in a strong castle. Before winter, he was removed to a gloomy dungeon in Besancon, where he died in a few months.

CHAPTER VI.

ALARMED at the treacherous outrage of the French commander, Christophe and his brother officers, put themselves at the head of all the black troops they were able to raise, resolving to renew their struggle for liberty, and *conquer or die* in the attempt.

They were speedily joined by other chiefs, who took possession of some of the numerous strong holds in the mountainous parts of the interior, from whence they occasionally sallied forth, carrying destruction and terror to the French, wherever they could be found. After the abduction of Toussaint and his family, a dreadful sickness broke out in the French camp, and when the heat of summer became extreme, death made the most awful and alarming ravages. Le Clerc's officers had mostly fallen victims to the climate, and the few who survived, grew daily more and more disgusted with the enormities of their ferocious leader, and quitted their posts. Those officers and soldiers who

had but just arrived, took the places of those whom disease had removed, and soon sunk, themselves, into the graves beside them.— These afflictions, instead of subduing the cruelty of the French, seemed rather to exasperate and rouse them to still more horrid deeds. The negroes who were taken prisoners, were murdered in cold blood; and almost every male negro or mulatto, of whom possession could be obtained by the basest means, was murdered in the most shocking manner. On one occasion, as many as five hundred persons of color were obtained—brought to Francois—a pit dug—and all the prisoners brought forth in view of crowds who came to witness the scene, and compelled to kneel upon the bank of earth thrown out of the trench, where they were shot: the killed and wounded alike fell down into the yawning pit, where the wounded were left to linger in unutterable agony, till relieved by the cold hand of death. So many were massacred in that neighborhood, that the whole atmosphere was tainted with the putrifying bodies of the slain. Not satisfied with the tortures they had contrived, the French procured from the island of Cuba, blood-hounds, which they trained up to hunt and destroy the blacks. They were fed sparingly, and taught to guard and defend

the whites, but to thirst for the blood of the blacks. Almost every Lord's-day, there was an exhibition of some most horrid spectacle connected with the destruction of human life. Sometimes the dogs, surrounded by troops, would receive prisoners which were stripped naked and thrown into the midst of them raging with hunger.

These voracious dogs sometimes broke away from their keepers, and devoured infants in the streets and about the doors. At other times they wandered into the woods, and bursting into the defenceless cottages, involved in one common destruction all their terrified inmates. But instead of crushing the blacks by the adoption of such cruel measures, they only served to increase their ardor in resisting oppression.

Le Clerc had used every method to regain his health without receiving any benefit, and suddenly growing worse, he died early in November, 1802. Before this event, the blacks had recovered many important posts, and felt greatly encouraged. The disease which had reduced the French camp to great distress, continued to rage with unabated fury, till at the close of the year it was supposed as many as forty thousand had fallen victims. After the death of Le Clerc, General Ro-

chambeau assumed the command; but the troops had become disheartened, and the negroes courageous in proportion.

The skirmishes between the contending parties becoming more and more serious, and the negro forces rapidly increasing, the French General thought best to hazard a battle, which was fought near *Acul*. The blacks took five hundred French prisoners at the outset; and during the day the French took about the same number of blacks. Victory seemed to incline first to one side, then to the other: however, at night, the blacks remained masters of the field. The savage Rochambeau had murdered all the prisoners he had taken, in the most cruel manner he could devise. Their limbs had been lopped off, and every torture inflicted, till the poor sufferers, incapable of enduring more, ceased to exist.

Enraged by such atrocious conduct, Des-salines instantly ordered the erection of five hundred gibbets, and selected every officer among his prisoners, and made up the five hundred from the privates; and these he hung up, before the next morning dawned, in view of the whole French army. They then pursued the enemy with great fury, even to the gates of Cape Francois, where they remained under close blockade till July. War

had been renewed between France and England, and the government of the latter had sent out a squadron to Hayti. Dessalines invited the commander to co-operate with him in reducing the French, and without forming any regular compact with the blacks, the British general in various ways afforded them important assistance.

The distress of the besieged was so great, and the famine so severe, that after sustaining life by consuming their horses and mules, they were compelled to eat the very blood-hounds which they had trained up with so much care and expense to destroy the poor negroes. Writhing under the horrors of famine, Rochambeau held out till November, and then offered terms of surrender, which Dessalines accepted, and received about eight thousand prisoners. After the surrender of Rochambeau, he made an attempt to treat with the British general for the evacuation of Cape Francois, and used such deceit and prevarication in the affair as would have covered the meanest soldier with infamy. However, this perfidious man evacuated the island, on the 2d of December, and Dessalines and his chiefs declared the independence of Hayti on the first of January, 1804, "and took a solemn oath to renounce France forever, pledging

themselves to each other, to their posterity, and to the universe, to die rather than submit again to her dominion." On the same day, Dessalines was appointed governor general for life, with power to make laws, &c. and even to appoint his successor.

One of his first public acts, was to invite all colored persons in the United States to return to Hayti; for during the distressing scenes of the revolutionary struggles, wealthy planters had gone there, accompanied by numerous slaves whom they were unable to retain after the loss of their property. To avoid the disaster and ruin that threatened to overwhelm the island, many others had emigrated to America, who were destitute of the means of returning, after Dessalines had declared Hayti an independent State. To facilitate their return, Dessalines offered to American ship masters, forty dollars for every black man they would bring to the island. It is probable that he was induced to make this offer with a view to increase his armies, and otherwise advance his own interests.

At the time the French evacuated Hayti, the numerous French families who had been settled there a long time, had the offer of going away if they wished; but owing to the uncertainty and difficulty of removing their property,

which would have been seized upon by the British fleet then cruising off the coast, they concluded to remain, and trust to the good faith of Dessalines. The humanity and kindness of Toussaint and Christophe, to every person whom the fortune of war put in their power, encouraged the French to think Dessalines would tread in their steps, especially as he had given them the most solemn assurances of protection. But it was not long before he published a proclamation, setting forth in the most glowing colors, the perfidy, oppression, and cruelties of the French, and urging his people to arise and avenge themselves of all their hated enemies that remained in the land. It was more difficult to excite the populace to engage in the cruel work of extermination than he had supposed, but he seemed fully determined upon the accomplishment of his object. Proclamation followed proclamation, each new one more inflammatory than the last, till he found a band willing to engage in the bloody enterprise.

The night of the 20th of April was appointed in which to assail the house of every Frenchman, in Cape Francois, when every man, woman, and child, they contained, were to be massacred, with the exception of a few

priests and surgeons, whose benevolent care of the blacks in times of danger and death, had won general esteem and gratitude.

A military force was set to guard every American habitation, but to their occupants it was a season of horror never to be forgotten. In the awful stillness of that night, they first heard the tread of the bloody assassin—the next moment, the pickaxe delving at the door of some ill-fated French neighbor, prepared their minds for the dreadful shrieks which were almost instantly succeeded by the silence of death; the next minute the whole band were heard pacing the street to some other devoted dwelling—when these same sounds of broken doors and agonizing shrieks, followed in rapid succession till the work of destruction was finished. Another proclamation announced that the crimes of the French had now been fully avenged, and if any had escaped the massacre of the 20th of April, and would appear on a certain square on a day which was specified, *tickets of protection and safety* were pledged to them in the most solemn manner. Hundreds of the unhappy French had found means to escape that night of death, and believing that even Dessalines was incapable of abusing their confidence, by failing to fulfil his promise before the whole nation.

a small part of which did not frown upon such atrocities. They went at the time appointed—met an armed force who led them away to the place of execution, where every one were shot. Their blood flowed into the little rivulet that runs through the town of Francois, and its crimson hue betrayed their cruel fate.

CHAPTER VII.

A PART of Hayti continued to be called *the Spanish part*, though nearly all its inhabitants had a mixture of African blood. After the massacre of the French, Dessalines conceived the project of subduing that portion of St. Domingo, and bringing it under his control, and laying siege to the city of St. Domingo, he met such a powerful resistance that he gladly made his way back again. He shortly assumed the title of Emperor, and was crowned with great splendor and parade. A new constitution declared the persons of the Emperor and Empress inviolable, and other laws were embraced in it relating to the rights, revenue, and succession of the first magistracy. The State made no provision for an established religion, but all were to be tolerated. The number of inhabitants under his authority in 1805, were about three hundred and eighty thousand. A small proportion of them were men of mature age, the dreadful wars having

swallowed up almost the whole male population. Dessalines encouraged education, and the ascendancy gained by men who had enjoyed its advantages, inspired the negroes with the most ardent desires to obtain instruction for their children. In a short time, a great proportion of his subjects were able to read and write.

Although the Emperor Dessalines made some wise arrangements in case of another invasion, yet his abhorred cruelties and tyranny, had so alienated the affections and loyalty of his subjects, that a conspiracy was formed in his army, and in his struggle to escape at the time of his arrest, he received a blow which terminated his wicked life. Only fifteen years before, he was a slave to a negro, who lived to see him die an Emperor, surrounded with all the pomp of royalty. His last wife was said to be the most beautiful negress in the West Indies. She had been a favorite with her former owner, and at his expense had received an accomplished education. She was remarkably amiable, and exerted herself, though almost in vain, to soften the savage disposition of the brutal Dessalines.

At the time of the Emperor's death, Christophe was second in authority ; he assumed

the sovereignty, with the title of "*Chief of the Government of Hayti.*" This chief was the early and confidential friend of the admirable Toussaint, and in many of the prominent traits of his character, there was a great similarity. He soon found in Pétion, a mulatto General, a most formidable rival; having had a Parisian education, and being a man of winning address and amiable disposition, Petion became exceedingly popular. Each chief had recourse to arms to decide who should enjoy the sovereignty unmolested. Fierce contentions, and bloody skirmishes took place from time to time, till in January, 1807, a battle was fought, and Petion saved himself by flight, being pursued to the entrance of Port-au-Prince, which was besieged by Christophe, till affairs of importance called him to another part of the island. He assembled a council at Cape Francois, re-modeled the constitution, and vested the supreme power in a magistrate, who was to be called *President*, having command of all the forces by sea and land. It abolished slavery—made the Roman Catholic religion that of the State—and made provision for schools in every district, &c. Petion, unwilling to forego the honors and privileges of supremacy, fought bravely, and

much territory was taken, lost, and re-taken by the rival armies during several years, and upon the whole it was thought Christophe was the most successful. At length, tired of worrying each other, without any prospect of a decided victory on either side, hostilities were suspended, without offer of terms by either commander, and in a short time all the inhabitants settled down in tranquillity, from one end of the island to the other.

In 1811, Christophe called another council of State, to revise the constitution, and they established the supreme authority in the person and family of Christophe, and his public coronation took place on Lord's-day, the second of June, with great magnificence, and he assumed the title of king. His wife was crowned queen with equal splendor. The territory over which Petion presided, was brought under as complete a system of government as that of Christophe, though he carefully kept out of view titles of nobility, and all the magnificence of courts. He cherished learning and the arts, and his whole dominions exhibited decisive evidence of the best civil and military management.

After the final overthrow of Bonaparte, France once more cast a wishful glance to-

wards the rich island of Hayti, and entertained the hope, that at no very distant period, its treasures should be under the control of her government, by whose agents proposals were made to Christophe and Petion, but rejected at once by the latter. Christophe convened a council of State to act upon the overtures made to him by the French commissioners. Being gratified by the confidence reposed in them by their king, the council made a most patriotic address, and passed several resolutions in the same spirit, pledging their arms, property, and lives, to the service of their king and country.

After this failure to obtain by negotiation or artifice the object of desire, France would have had recourse to an armed force, had not the sudden and unexpected return of Bonaparte, from his exile on Elba, prevented the sailing of a fleet destined to subdue or destroy the proud and independent inhabitants of St. Domingo. The moment Bonaparte assumed his lost authority, he endeavored to bring back Hayti to the condition of a French colony, but every proposition was rejected by Petion and Christophe with disdain. Soon after this, Louis XVIII. was reinstated upon the throne of France, and he lost no time in sending

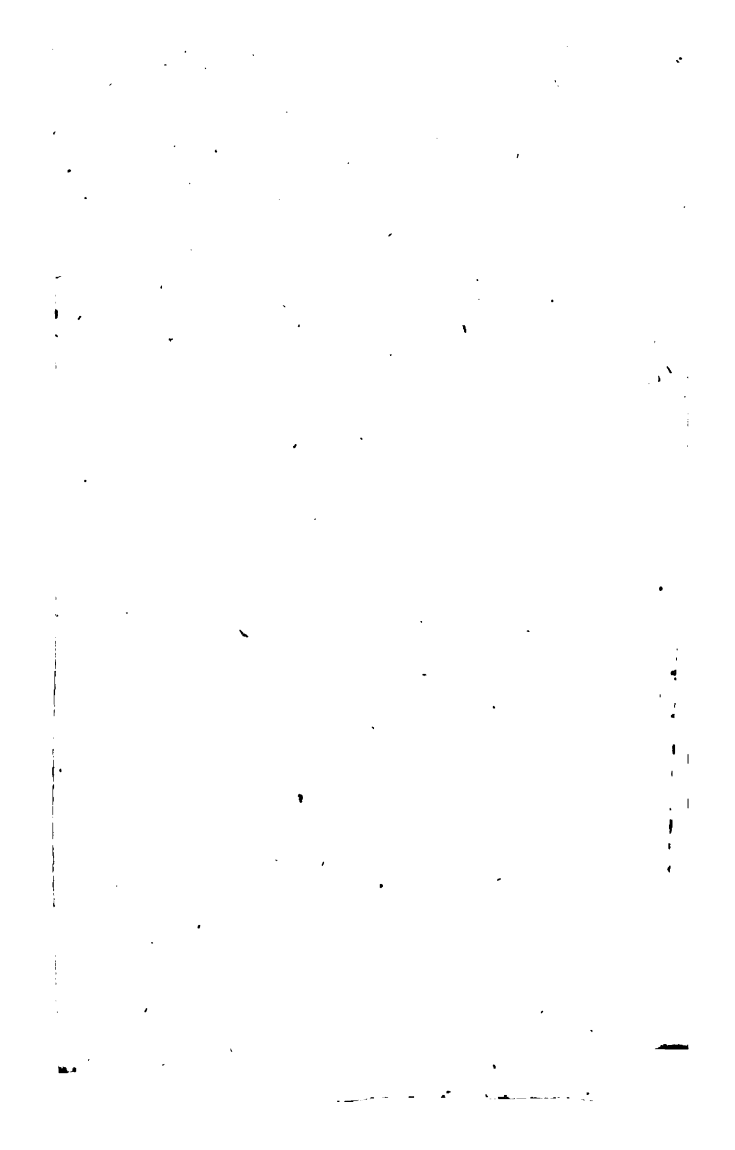
commissioners to treat with the rulers of Hayti, who seemed fully resolved to obtain possession by fraud or force. Their first letter was addressed to "*Monsieur General Christophe.*" The pride of his Majesty was wounded by this indignity, and his highest officers were so much exasperated, that they wished the letter to be returned unopened. The king gratified his own pride in complying with the wishes of his friends, and every measure taken by the commissioners to bring about a negotiation, was treated with sovereign contempt by the king and his courtiers.

But as days and months rolled on, they brought increasing evidence that the French government were not to be diverted from their object, and it was apparent they were preparing for another invasion. The brave Christophe and Petion, at the head of their respective governments, embodied fifty thousand troops, and kept them in constant training, ready to repel every foreign foe.

Orders were given to destroy every town upon the coast, the moment a French fleet appeared in sight, and the women and children were directed to flee into the mountains. In this state of affairs, Petion died suddenly in March, 1818, lamented by the whole re-

public. General Boyer, the second in command, pronounced an oration at his funeral, and the whole multitude were in tears. Petion was succeeded in the Presidency by Boyer. A war between him and Christophe was confidently expected, but it never occurred. The soldiers under Christophe became dissatisfied, and assassinated him at his family residence in 1820. This event was followed by some commotions that threatened the tranquillity of the country; but with so much wisdom did President Boyer conduct in this exigency, that all the royalists belonging to Christophe's party, adopted a republican form of government. The Spanish part of the island having been attached to Petion's government before his death, the whole island came under the sway of Boyer, apparently without an effort. He labored with great judgment and zeal to improve the condition of his people, and invited colored people from America and elsewhere, to take up their residence at Hayti, promising them the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the native inhabitants. President Boyer resolved to obtain from France, an acknowledgement of Haytien independence, and ceased not his exertions till that haughty government sent

out a squadron with a minister, authorized to form a treaty with the President. The treaty was ratified, and the independence of Hayti acknowledged in July, 1825, amidst shouts of joy, and the universal cry was, long live France! long live Charles X.! long live Hayti! and forever live Boyer!!



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